1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 784 Ifalik

"Coconut leaves, commonly including some live ones from sprouted nuts, may be tied and twisted together around any area where trespassers are not wanted. These barriers are flimsy. There is no attempt to make effective fences of them. Their use is symbolic; they are recognized as tabu signs. Another symbolic use is waving a coconut leaf over the patient in several of the little healing rituals that accompany administration of medicines."

1: Burrows--56 (1947-48) Woleaians
784 Ifalik

"The first day in canoe building which is regarded as of vital importance is that on which the bottom is first measured off. The tree has already been selected and felled, the log for the underbody roughed out and hauled to the canoe-house where the work is to be done. On the morning of the day when the first lines are to be drawn, the workers may not touch food, except for a drink of fresh coconut toddy."

1: Burrows--60 (1947-48) Woleaians
784 Ifalik

"The next crucial point is the attachment of the outrigger float (tam). This is considered a particularly delicate and difficult task. On the day when it is done, the workmen again eat nothing in the morning, --this time not even toddy."

l: Burrows--83J (1947-48) Woleaians
784 Ifalik

"During the observance of turu [KS: turu-catching flying fish by torchlight], all the men sleep in the canoe-houses or, formerly, the men's house. They are forbidden to enter the dwellings in which women sleep, or to have sexual intercourse. They may not eat preserved breadfruit (mar). It is permissible to eat fresh breadfruit, if there is any; but there would never be much at this time of year. Their principal food is taro--both pulax and the scarcer wot--and coconuts. The food is cooked by the women, who bring it to the canoe-houses, but leave it outside, being forbidden to enter. The observance lasts for three moons."

1: Burrows--83M
535, 784

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Meanwhile the women began their contribution. Gathered in several groups near shore, they sang and danced their serenade, the bwarux, with beckoning motions of the hands and erotic swinging of the hips. Primarily this dance is performed by one woman for one man, her sweetheart, in the utmost privacy. The very name bwarux is not uttered by people of either sex in the presence of the other. It is only on this occasion, so far as we saw, that it is performed in chorus and in public. (One other time at a men's dance, several women sang a bwarux, by way of applause and encouragement, but did not dance it.)"

1: Burrows--83P (1947-48) Woleaians
784, 538 Ifalik

"For three days after such a catch, work is forbidden, except for that necessary in the preparation of the fish and in daily housekeeping. The tabu extends to sexual intercourse. The traditional penalty for violation applies explicitly only to men, and only when the next bonito catch involves use of the spear. The violator of the tabu will be unable, next time, to spear the fish. This is expressed in something like a proverb, a rarity in Ifalik. Ig e valī la ig owai, the fish refuses the spear. It was compared to a woman refusing sexual intercourse."

1: Burrows--135-136 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 778, 784 Ifalik

"The most sacred part of all Katēlū is a tract just inland from the men's house. This is said to be the site of the ancient men's house which was in use in Maur's time. It is now covered with a thick growth that includes some tall trees, evidence that it has been long unoccupied. This Katēlū is strictly tabu except, nominally, to chiefs; and we never saw even a chief set foot on the central part of it, where the old building stood. All that remains of that is a few vertical slabs, some of them apparently stone corner-posts like those in the present building, while others may be backrest stones; and a terrace or platform strewn with coral gravel and outlined with coral blocks. This is like any other house platform except for a few other lines of blocks at one side, suggesting a bit of terracing which may have constituted a formal entrance.

Maroligar, who acted as caretaker of all Katēlū, did some weeding and trimming about the edges of this part of it, but we never saw him venture on the old platform. The only violation of its sanctity that we did see was by the psychotic called, for short, Tarof. He was subject to outbursts of obstreperous and sometimes violent conduct. On hearing that he had impiously trespassed on the overgrown, tabu site of the old men's house, a group of agitated men, mostly relatives who felt some responsibility for his conduct, gathered at the edge of the overgrown tract. They called to him to come out, and rebuked him for his presumption, but did not venture in after him. This was not from fear of violence on his part, for some of these same men more than once tied him hand and foot after other outbursts. It was from reverence for the sacred site, respect

for the tabu, and awe of the spirits of ancient chiefs who are supposed to punish trespassers.

Violation of this tabu by Spiro and me was punished by these spirits. Our camp was on Katēlū, just south of the present men's house and west, or shoreward, of the site of the old one. Our only toilet facilities, at first, were the lagoon and what the navy calls an overwater head, which could be entered only by walking along an unsquared coconut log set at rather a steep angle. The lagoon [136] was well enough, part of the time; but since, unlike the natives, we had to change clothes to wade into it, it was often inconvenient. After one attempt to negotiate the log leading to the overwater head, which ended in an ignominious leap into the water, I gave up trying to use that; and for Spiro, if I remember rightly, a look at it was enough. The only concealment near our tent was the foliage on the overgrown part of Katēlū. We took to using the edges of that, part of the time. Maroligar delicately dissuaded us by intertwining the leaves of the young coconuts about the old site, forming a flimsy barrier, which is a traditional tabu sign. The hint was not lost on us, but now and then, under pressure of time and when we thought we were unobserved, we disregarded it.

About that time came a period of rainy, gusty weather. The chiefs decided that it was visited on Ifalik by the spirits of the old chiefs to show their indignation at the violation of their sanctuary. So they had the overwater head moved to a new position, beside a stone pier that projects into the lagoon; and built a short, level approach, so

that there was no longer any difficulty about using it. Then they had Tom explain the whole situation to us, and ask us to use the new facility. This seems worth telling, not as a funny anecdote, still less as a confession of what now seems stupidity on our part; but rather as an illustration, first, of how the sentiment of rank may work out in conduct, and second, of the diplomacy shown by the chiefs in persuading foreigners to respect their rules."

1: Burrows--136 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 784, 565 Ifalik

"Two other sites share, but in much lesser degree, some of the sanctity attributed to Katēlū. One is the homestead Uelepī, traditional residence of the senior lineage of Kovalū clan, whose members succeed to the highest chiefly title. This site is said to be tabu to all but relatives. Except for men of other clans who live there by virtue of marriage to women of this line, we did not hear of outsiders trespassing on it (except the psychotic Tarof on one of his rampages). A similar site, no longer occupied and of less importance but still respected, as far as we know, was Bwagolei, just inland from Katēlū. This is the traditional homestead of the senior lineage of SauvelārIk clan, holder of the second chiefly title. Tom took me there by virtue of his membership in that lineage, and did his best to make it out as practically equivalent to Uelepī."

1: Burrows--180 (1947-48) Woleaians 12
116, 784 Ifalik

"The concept of taboo, widespread among Pacific island peoples, prevails on Ifalik in a rather simple form. The term itself, taken into English from a language related to that of Ifalik, is in use there, though the final sound is not voiced and speakers of English can notice it more readily by lip-reading than by listening. Following common practise, the local form is here spelled tabw.

The common expression E tabw can usually be translated 'It is forbidden.' But it is not applied to all prohibitions. Conduct disapproved because it is regarded as queer or foolish is not ordinarily called tabw. Nor is the term applied, commonly at least, to the prohibitions emphasized in the chapter on government; though usage seems to be somewhat elastic here. The term tabw, in a strict sense, refers to prohibitions thought to be sanctioned in a special way. We should call it a supernatural way; yet the sanctions are not, as a rule, thought to be administered by supernatural beings.

Conduct called tabw is thought to be dangerous in itself, to incur automatic retribution. The connection made between the misdeed and the penalty is something like what we have in mind when we say 'Don't get your feet wet, or you'll catch cold'; or 'Don't touch that wire, or you'll get a shock.' Yet an essential difference remains. In the case of taboo the connection between deed and consequence is not, as we should say, rationally explained. It remains somewhat mysterious, and is regarded with some awe, though not to the extent of avoiding discussion of it.

The kind of impersonal power believed to enforce the prohibitions called tabw is that

commonly called, by students of comparative religion, mana, --another term borrowed from an Oceanic language. That word itself, however, was not heard on Ifalik; nor was any other with an equivalent meaning. The power behind taboo seems to have, on this atoll, no explicit name."

"The only other term whose meaning is closely related to tabw, so far as learned, is fäm. This expresses a condition which Radcliffe Brown ( ) called 'ritual danger', and is applied to human beings at certain crucial times. When a person is fäm, some kinds of conduct ordinarily permissible become tabw to him; in other words, he has to observe special precautions.

Death is one of the events that can make people fäm. Members of a household in which a death has occurred may not gather or prepare food for three days. Food is prepared for them by neighbors, or by relatives not so closely akin to the dead, and these offerings of freshly cooked food, called agilimēs, are brought to the mourners. Those who are fäm are not prohibited, however, as in some regions of more elaborate taboo, from using their hands to feed themselves.

Sea-burial, a custom found nowhere else in the surrounding area, is enjoined on Ifalik by a taboo on burial ashore. If a body was left ashore, it is said, all the vegetation would wither."

1: Burrows--180-181 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 843, 784 Ifalik

"Childbirth is another event that imposes this condition. A woman is not surrounded by taboos during most of her pregnancy, except that sexual intercourse is prohibited from the time pregnancy is first diagnosed--commonly by the interruption of the menses --until the [181] external signs become apparent. The duration of this taboo is said to be about a month; intercourse during that time, it is said, would kill the baby. Thereafter intercourse is resumed, and indeed, approved, until a late stage in the pregnancy."

1: Burrows--181 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 846, 784 Ifalik

"When labor pains begin, or are momentarily expected, the woman goes to the birth house (im lipelū) on Falalap near the channel. This building is strictly tabw to men. If a man were to enter it, all the food would rot, and all the people suffer famine. Spiro did not succeed in having an exception to this taboo made in his case; even the psychopathic Tarobweliman did not venture into the birth house, so far as known.

While a woman is in the birth house, her close relatives, which means, approximately, her parents, husband, and children; perhaps one or more sisters as well - go to live in a house reserved for this purpose near the birth house. They stay there as long as the mother and child remain in the birth house. The conventional length of her stay is ten days. All are fām during that period. All return together to their home, and at this time the taboos are lifted from all except the parents.

Work other than caring for the child is tabw to the mother for a considerable period. First stated as two months, this was later defined more strictly as follows: if the moon is visible at sunset, or during the rather short interval thereafter before people go to bed, this tabw lasts for one month; if the moon is not visible at that time, for two months. It was also said that the mother may not leave the homestead for three months. The homestead is here defined to include a bit of shallow water opposite the house site, where the baby is bathed. The father too, is subjected to some restrictions, though they are less rigorous, for the same period as the mother. One taboo--on sexual intercourse lasts until the child can walk. The penalty ascribed to violation of this is the same as

that for sexual intercourse during early pregnancy--the death of the baby."

"Menstruation is surrounded by taboos, though I did not hear the term fäm applied to a menstruating woman. Women are required to spend these periods in seclusion, in little huts built for the purpose on each homestead. They may not visit the taro patches, nor take part in preparation of food. The little huts used for this seclusion are at all times taboo to men. If a man should enter one of them, the people would all fall sick; or, according to another statement, would starve. On the other hand, if a menstruating woman leaves her seclusion hut, the kind of divination called bwei, described later, will not work.

The vicinity of a small tree on Falārlk, close to the channel that separates that island from Falālap, is taboo to menstruating women. The tree is called rongonax, and is said to be the only one of its kind on the atoll. If a menstruating woman were to come near it, a typhoon would spring up, so severe that sea water would wash all over the atoll."

1: Burrows--181-182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462, 784, 283 Ifalik

"The artificial pools of fresh water in which coconut husks are soaked to loosen the fibers in preparation for making sinnet are taboo to men. These pools, (called lip wa li gos) are dug among coconut groves, always at some distance from a dwelling. The work of digging them and walling them with blocks of coral may be done by men, or by men and women together. The final use of the fibers prepared partly in them--that of twisting cordage--is exclusively men's work. But the soaking of the husks is strictly women's work, and men may not enter the pools, once they fill up with water. If a man violates this taboo, he will be unable [182] to catch fish for 20 days; and if he tries to, will fall sick."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 271, 784 Ifalik

"When Tom's wife Lagarajong gave us a demonstration of preparing a bed and planting wot, we all grew thirsty, and Tom cut drinking coconuts for us from a nearby tree. In order to drink them, we had to sit in the clump of coconut trees, which rose like an islet out of the lower land of taro swamp. Tom explained that drinking coconuts on the taro land itself is tabw. This, and the taboo on gardening during menstruation, are the only ones collected in connection with this branch of food production. It would not be surprising if there were a number of others not brought out by my matter-of-fact questions about gardening, and not observed directly because the taro patch is women's territory (though not taboo to men), and we spent only a few hours there."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 784 Ifalik

"Taboo periods are imposed on men in connection with certain kinds of fishing, as described in connection with fishing technology. The longest and most severe is associated with torchlight fishing for flying-fish, when the men must sleep in the canoe-houses for three months, and during that time must abstain from sexual intercourse and from eating preserved breadfruit."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 784 Ifalik

"The other taboo period in connection with fishing follows a successful drive on a school of bonito in the lagoon. After such a catch, none of the men may work, except for smoking the fish and a few other specified light tasks such as making sinnet cordage, for three days. They must also avoid sexual intercourse during that time. If a man violates this taboo, he will be unable to spear any fish the next time a school of bonito is rounded up.

Various minor taboos apply to other kinds of fishing. For example, when fish caught in one of the large traps that are set about driftwood logs at sea were brought to us as a gift, the chief Maroligar offered to cook them for us, and broiled them over a little fire of dry coconut leaves. He explained that if we cooked them in our usual way--in a frying pan--there would be no more driftwood, hence no more fish caught with the big traps. A glimpse of another fishing taboo appeared when some men bringing in a catch of fish shouted a warning, and small boys on the shore went away. One of them tried to tell me why, but I could not understand. Tom explained that women and children must not watch when fish are brought ashore. This taboo does not seem to apply to all kinds of fishing, certainly not to bonito drives, in which the whole population takes part. I failed to find just how far it applies."

1: Burrows--182
116, 562, 343, 784

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Associated with this, to some extent, is one permanent taboo. Women must never enter canoe-houses. They even avoid those sections of the main path along the shore which pass immediately in front of canoe-houses. Along most of the settled part of Rauau there is an alternate path farther inland, among the house platforms. Women going from Falārĭk district to Falālap, for example, will leave the main path as it approaches the canoe-house Fan ni Wā, and follow the inland path all the way to the channel. The foreshore is not forbidden to them, however, except for narrow strips directly shoreward from the canoe-houses. Even these are not so strictly taboo as the houses themselves. But if a woman crosses them, she will usually go along the beach, or at least not immediately in front of the canoe-house. Sometimes, as during the nightly rehearsals for the men's dances, women will sit very near the canoe-houses, nearly under their eaves."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 372, 252, 784 Ifalik

"The fire on which a sick person's food is cooked may not be used by others. Households in which someone is sick will use two cooking fires, one for the invalid, the other for the rest of the people. Another taboo on sharing fire was exemplified by Tom when he asked Spiro to light a cigarette for a woman. He could not do it himself, he explained, because the woman was a classificatory sister."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 784 Ifalik

"The morning fast imposed upon builders of a new canoe on the two crucial days of the job--the beginning, when lines are drawn to shape the hull, and the day of attaching the outrigger--is a ritual precaution to ensure that the vessel will sail fast and well. Though explained to me in this positive way, it could as well be put in the negative form usual in discussing taboos. Eating is taboo to the workmen on these two mornings. The penalty of a violation would be failure in their task, to the extent that the canoe would be slow."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 784, 787 Ifalik

"Performance of certain religious rites--invocation of a god, the more formal and solemn kinds of divination--imposes a three-day taboo on the man who takes a leading part in them, though not upon others who take less prominent part as spectators and assistants. The activities prohibited during this period are sexual intercourse, giving food to others, or receiving food from them."

1: Burrows--183
116, 685, 345, 784

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another kind of taboo that is not altogether typical is the prohibition against trespassing on the site of the ancient men's house. As shown in the discussion of symbols of rank, the bad weather thought to follow violations of this rule is, unlike the usual sanction of taboos, attributed to specific supernatural persons--the ghosts of the great men of old who frequented the men's house that used to stand on this site, and still resent any disrespect shown to the place. The taboos against trespassing on the two homesteads associated with the lineages of highest rank are also ways of showing respect to the dead of high rank. I failed to find out whether trespassing on these sites is thought to be punished by ancestral spirits of these chiefly lineages."

1: Burrows--204
116, 688, 784

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

1.2

"The same preoccupation appears in the following list of penalties thought to follow violation of a taboo:

Misdeed	Punishment
A man enters the birth house-	famine
A man enters a menstrual hut-	one version, starvation; other version, sickness
A man enters a pool for soaking coconut husks-	he will be unable to catch fish for 20 days; so his household will be short of food
Fish caught in a big trap are cooked in a pan-	no more driftwood, no more fish for the big traps; i.e., shortage of food
sexual intercourse during turu fishing, or immediately before trolling-	failure to catch fish; (shortage of food again)
sexual intercourse during early pregnancy, or between birth and walking-	death of the baby
menstruating woman approaches rongonax tree-	typhoon. (Typhoons are followed by famine.)
menstruating woman visits taro patch-	the taro will not thrive

1: Burrows--204
116, 688, 784

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Misdeed
leaving a dead body ashore-

Punishment
the vegetation will wither, and the people will starve."

Aluelöb established the Tapu. (etab; the opposite is daitab). If a man is tabu, no one is permitted to take food or drink from him, or to give him anything. He can not sleep with a woman. Various things cause a person to be tabu, and this state usually lasts four days.

a) If anyone is undertaking a banewan, he is tabu for four days, and in case a cure is operated in this fashion, it applies to the patient too.
b) Women in the menstrual lodge are tabu; during menstruation it is for four days, or until the end of the period; after births, for ten days.
c) If a man is consulting an oracle (buä) for someone, who wants to travel to a distant island, he is tabu for four days.
d) During canoe-building all the workers are tabu, but only on the days when the banewan is undertaken.

Then individuals are tabu for certain specific things; captains, or people, who know the banewan for Allülei, or those who can prophesy (buä) from knotted coconut leaf strips, are not permitted to go to the blood house. Then there is a general tabu on the bread-fruit trees; that means that none of them may be felled.

The natives did not know whether the custom decreeing that women may not go into the canoe house, goes back to an ancient tabu, or not; they just said that it was an old custom. Neither do they know the basis for the custom of not eating certain sea animals;

in general, the shark is not eaten "because it eats people, and therefore, men are afraid of it"; then the báro, láwud, lódj (poisonous fish) and fái (ray) are not touched either.

2; Damm et al. --201
116, 784

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

At certain times there are injunctions (etáb: Polynesian tabu); for example, the chief put tabu signs on his property, so that no one could set foot on it..

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--259 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 784, 423 Faraulep

A taboo-sign which had been posted by the owner of the island [LEM: of Eat], the chief Sâuerū, debarred the inhabitants of the sister-islands from entering Eat; at certain times only they were permitted to collect there coconuts, turtle-eggs, or tobacco-leaves.

If one draws a line from here southward which crosses the inland water and reaches the southern reef--formerly at the rock Faisar (which disappeared in the last typhoon)--one gets the sósor boundary... which is the western limit of the district of the island of Lamotrek. East of the line no taboos need to be observed, but west of it one must fast if one sails early in the morning westward across the boundary. Smoking, too, is forbidden under such circumstances.

Hambruch mentions:

Edible plants

swamp taro	uŏt, file	papaya	papuâi	
mountain taro	bulăk	sugar-cane	uâu	
breadfruit	mai	sweet potato	gamŏti	
banana	uĭs	pandanus is not eaten		
fig	faliap	coconut palm	liu	
cucumber tree	awŭs (Krämer gavudj)	chicken	măluk	animals
		dog	gălăgo	animals
pumpkin	kălăvăs			

...[45]

The coconut palm claims first place as a source of food, but breadfruit, mai, is very important. For that reason, the taboos which the breadfruit god Sauaur imposes are of special importance. In September one tries to find magic and an oracle for the voyage to Guam and to discover which boats are good and lucky. Then the period of the breadfruit taboos sets in. During that period no trees may be felled, no bulis extracted, no wooden bowls and wooden boxes must be made and no nets may be woven (no handle nets may be made either). Cords must not be twisted, clay cannot be fired and sails must not be made of pandanus leaves. The end of the breadfruit harvest comes in July and is known as the eamóimai.

Then follows a solemn banquet, the iles, which is held in the evening and which is mainly given for returning fishermen and navigators who have fasted up to this time. At the banquet a prayer is said in order to avert evil.

On the island, breadfruit dough, mär, is prepared in the same manner as on Truk; it is said to be especially good when it is eaten together with tak, Belone fish.

Breadfruit dough is prepared for preservation on Elato and is known as mär (Hambruch)

The alu Saulal* is responsible for many of the fishing taboos. He has close contact with the ocean into which, deep down, he was banned because of his evilness; to him come the souls of the evil after their death. He has three servants: Alusitét, who is thought of as his son, who comes whenever someone breaks a taboo and Pónerol and Lepériperúodj (from périper "to cut"=falafal see the discussion of boat construction, and uodj "reef" which would give it the meaning of "reef cutter"); they are sent to help the humane beings. Soulal gave mankind the turtle which he made hard and strong. But if men want to get the benefit of his deeds they must obey his taboos; e.g., a man must wait for 10-20 days after having had sexual intercourse before he is again allowed to go out fishing; he must not touch the lure pa which is used for bonito fishing during one month, and by no means before the next new moon; in the case of the flying fox fishing, the fisherman must wait for two to three months before he may return to his house.

The fisherman must not touch the water holes in which coconut fibers are soaked; if he does he must wait for 4 days and for the same length of time may not eat any bonito in case he has beaten coconut fibers; the same taboo applies to any person who has touched excrement. The regulations apply also to women; they may not eat any bonito at all as long as they are in the imatamai, nor for three months after they leave. When a woman has been in the imafatiu she must wait for ten days.

*He is thought of as the elder of the two brothers of Aluelap.

We have reported on the taboos west of the sósor boundary; sósor is the word for the fishing ground in the inland water mainly west of the mentioned boundary. If one wants to go fishing in that area no fire may be lit in the village after 10:00 o'clock at night [48] and no food may be eaten at that time. The boats that sail to the spot must first call at the islands of Puik (Búiüg) and Faleit before they may get started on the actual fishing trip. If the taboo is broken, legs and abdomen are believed to swell.

Among the sacred activities is the killing of fish with the ceremonial axe tellẽ i lolomai which is also used for the boat construction.... Taboo for women on Elato are the gorurĩãp, sonmalot sóu (mackeral) and the skipiia which is held sacred on Satoan and before whom the natives must bow.

Customs in Fishing

Later on there followed further taboos and magic and fishing at night to the illumination of torches.

Fishing of flying-fox starts in December and continues almost through the entire season of the trade winds. When the fishing period is finally over, the fisherman, after an additional waiting period of four days, may return to his house.

Fishing (búil) of bonito, garangap is still practiced. The fish is considered sacred only if it is caught with the lure pa (bā) on sea; this is quite in line with the Polynesian customs. We have already discussed the taboos; they are exceedingly strict.

Soon after a fish is caught, it is cleaned of all dirt with an ear branch. The catch is greeted with a special exclamation. A fisherman, who comes home feeling cold is the object of mockery. The men who have not caught anything are not in favor with the women. Fasts are prescribed for the time of the trade winds but are not necessarily observed from March to September. With reference to the banquet, iles...

After reaching the shore one carefully lays down the fish with their heads facing inland. They are seized by the tail and carried. Fish may not be swung to the sides as they are carried. If the person who carries them meets someone on his way he must not stop. When the fish is laid down by a house, it must be placed alongside the building with the head pointing in the direction of the sea. Then the stove, um, is started. When the fire is lit and the stove is getting hot, the fish may be cut. The animal is laid on its back and

the bamboo knife (not an iron knife) is held in the right hand. The stalk of a coconut frond may be used. One cut each is made lengthwise and across and then the fish is peeled out with the first finger and the skin of the belly together with that of the throat is removed, is whirled in the smoke of a fire that is lit on a coconut frond róurou, wrapt in breadfruit leaves, magárigar, and put in the stove. [51] The insides of the fish and particularly the roe are eaten raw, after they have been waved through the smoke for just a little while; the heart is given a similar treatment. The other insides are cooked. The head which is cut off, the shoulder pieces, the tail without bones and the back pieces are all laid out on leaves, wrapped and cooked on hot stones. The dress for the karangap fish is called magárigar. That finishes the taboos.

If a fisherman has broken the taboo and been near women and is taken sick after his fishing trip, Alusitét is thought of as the originator of illness and a sorcerer addresses a prayer to him while he stands holding two bunches of coconut leaves in his hands.

4: Krämer--92-97 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-9
116, 396, 784 Lamotrek

On Palau the felling of the tree from which a canoe is to be made is a sacred action, but on Lamotrek it does not involve any kind of ceremony. Felling of a breadfruit tree is called komádj ali mai, and transporting the felled tree is urur ali mai. Everybody lends a hand in the latter. The trunk is hauled to the beach where the rough work is to be done. In order to be able to move the tree, the trunk which is lying on the ground, is surrounded by coconut fronds and their pinnae are plaited together. Both the tree trunk and the stalks of the fronds are notched and fastened by tying, so that they may not slip as the tree is dragged away. This system makes hauling ropes unnecessary and the weight of the tree is somewhat lightened. The roughest work on the tree is done in the bush itself in the spot where it has been felled and is under the supervision of the god Simalegodjúat.... When the trunk has finally been transported to the beach, the actual construction work begins with rough-hewing with an ax. On this occasion the ceremonial ax sometimes is displayed...

The work on the beach is begun by instituting a fast. Women may not come to the place of construction but otherwise no special taboos are imposed. After the fast is over, the juice of young coconuts is drunk and their meat eaten. Cracking of the first nut, the giligel, is a solemn action; the term includes the word for stick got, and because it is an action it is made into molegot. The nut is placed in front of the person selected to crack it and the spirit Tautúp, the giver, is invoked.

[ER: a short prayer is said before the coconuts may be eaten, but it is omitted here.]

[93] Then follows the first blow of the ax, the kakilet... and the rough work on the canoe is done before the line is used.

Now is the time for further work on the breadfruit tree trunk which in the songs is simply called mai. The explanation of the second song by Faragau (house 1) revealed that in earlier times the tree trunks were soaked with oil inside and outside and charred in order to simplify the later treatment with the adze. But the work of the ax, the first blow, and the first steps at least were always important and done in as expert a fashion as possible. Another important step taken without special ceremony was

1. the laying of the keel known as tilegab (solegab, "the keel"). The keel is roughly worked.... When the keel is laid, the workmen fast all day long and may not touch any food but coconut juice; this fact is most strictly enforced when the line (Leine?) the tal e fálefal has been laid. It is not until the evening that food may be taken and then the banquet, iles, is held. On the second day, the day after the laying of the keel is the time of
2. the gapileval, which means the "keel of the bush." It refers to the measuring of the trunk in order to determine the length of the hull of the canoe, the bul, which is done with the line talefélĕfel.*

*There are four different types of measuring lines, tal: a, tal i motaisam (spirit of the 1st sib ... b. tal i ngulu c. tal i gedj (connected with it is the 4th song of the canoe construction collection ... d. tal i gudj (with it the 2nd canoe construction song). For every measuring line a song is necessary; similarly the taboos change with them.

(Fig 60 [VMM: see source] which may not be used for anything but canoes. If the line tears, it is a bad omen for it may not be knotted. First the entire length of the canoe is measured off and then the line is folded and the halves are determined by finding the center, the lug. (Fig. 61a) [VMM: see source]. In a similar fashion the quarter sections are measured and marked off. Straight underneath two of these quarter section marks there are the two ends (fétang, Oleai; fátang) of the lowest keel, gapiálei. From the fétang ends the keel rises a little bit on both sides in the longitudinal direction and to the further end, gom; the part between the two ends, fétang and gom (Oleai: falegóm), is called gapiléisap and the section from the gom end to the bow with the figurehead is known as faisap (Oleai: fatob) (Fig 61a [VMM: see source]). It is important that the fétang end be laid correctly and that the keel between [94] the fétang is straight so that the canoe will not yaw. On both sides of the upper longitudinal line, a red line is painted on with a brush. . . for measuring the length; the paint must not be black because it would strangle the spirits. In a vertical cross section through the middle of the hull of the canoe, through the lug, the following lines appear: the keel, gapiálei, and above it the hollow djölifadj, which looks like a pandanus leaf; and above it as the upper margin the edge, úlut, which has been indicated in the longitudinal cross section in Fig. 61a [VMM: see source]. The úlut line in the interior is the boundary line

of the bilge. Above it is the side of the hull known as órol which at the upper end is thickened, lugulepal; on this edge rests a wooden pole serving as gunwales, mesep (papa le vá) which is fastened by a string, ngareliva. Special care is taken when the bilge, the space above the keel is hollowed out. (Hellwig: niua). The bottom, lauâilol grating, is divided by means of coconut frond stalks into three sections similar to the space of the deck which has three red lines. Then the space is hollowed out and the bulkheads, the kábong, are not forgotten in the process. The line is used on the orol side. Attention is given to the thwarts, to:

1. tolefatefat
2. metangór often with failo reinforcement (Truk, page 229: fauílo)
3. tipalefang
4. ti válim
5. sáragio
6. fatamat with the lower bail seat

All this is taken care of on the second day. Then the measuring line is rolled up. While the hull of the canoe is dug out many mats are often laid out as a sign that work is under way. The people who pass the spot are greeted with the greeting of faîro, in order that they may not spoil anything by their possible evil thoughts. [95]

3. velap. The work of the preceding days is improved and the exact sizes of the areas are determined. The uppermost line indicates the boundary for the

work. Everything underneath it is sacred work and everything above it does not matter. That is to say that attention is concentrated on the lower búl section of which as much as possible is left standing. Then the planks are cut and the figureheads for both bow and stern; their lower parts are called padj and the term applies to the section where they are fitted into an echelon-like groove above the gom, and then they constitute the section called faisap. Like a thigh they extend to the knee, borolemet, where the wood turns to the inside so that the heel, monga Selang... changes into the foot pointing to the outside or the forked metál i va, the "ship's eye". The two prongs of the fork are called mongarëdj and the upper sole of the foot seapolimet.

4. vëdjik. A day of taboos because the finer work is done on the keel section. Everything is checked and finished, including the planks. The god Meseiseit supervises this work....
5. póufar. It is not until this day that the boat rests on the keel. It is another day of taboos, no rough hewing may be done, but only detailed work on the superstructure. The planks that were previously cut are put in place but for the time being they are only temporarily fastened with hibiscus fibers (gilifau) and provided with wedges, djib or kadjór, which necessitates strict attention and supervision. One prays to Bórumai* "rising water," bor, and "good,"

*Belongs with Semalegóror...

mamai, i.e., good tide; [ER: a song, lulur, is sung on this occasion but is omitted here.] The canoe is filled up with coconuts and food for the god. Now the construction head may dismiss his assistants. In the final placing of the planks, coconut husks are utilized (pal ali va), they are laid down after artocarpus sap, bilis* has been put on the wood. The sap may be applied after the planks have been moved into place; in this case a smouldering leaf-sheath is held close to the stick with bilis. Now the péret approaches; the sewing on of the figurehead, padj, which is known as bau ipadj, is very difficult. Stitching through the holes with the gólemong cord...is known as yógeyog. [96]

6. kabukio with taboos. In order that the kio, the outrigger beams may be fitted in, kabuk, notches úoș, must be cut. One tries to do the fitting as tightly as possible. The kio on the leeside rest on the geligeaá and on the weatherside on the faramoe. In order to allow lashing "holes," ngata le olotráol, (Fig. 61c [VMM: see source]) are drilled underneath the uós. The drill resembles a chisel; in recent times it has been made from a piece of iron, búrubur, which

*The juice of the breadfruit tree trunk, the ralimei...is collected in coconut shells. One allows the milk to settle, pours off the water and washes the deposits in salt water; then they are filled into coconut sheaths and are kept in this condition; juice treated in this manner is called bilis.

usually is used only for the making of coconut slabs...in the past it was a piece of madrepore which had to fill this purpose. As the drill pierces the material, magic is made. It attempts to chase the evil spirits away. This is done by shouts of all present; eho! eho! eho! The calls are followed by a great deal of noise, more shouts and beating of the arms, etc. Then everything is lashed on temporarily or permanently. The sórang are made for it, the cuts between the holes through which the lashing is put.

7. votap. The hull is set up, the keel placed on longĕs beams; the longĕs are short wooden beams with grooves into which the keel is to be fitted. If it is impossible to fit the keel exactly, the error of cutting is repaired by coconut husks. If the canoe stands well and correctly, it is easier to do the work. At this point everything is done with a veiw to permanency. All shaping is done well and accurately because the wood shrinks as it dries. Now all small pieces are added.
8. kámor with taboos. The main job on this day is the smoothing of the hull of the canoe. Stretching out the line reveals the irregular spots; wherever wood is left standing high it is chopped down, but this work is done most carefully, a little at a time. This is known as the kalúl ali metál e boédj "the beautification of the face of the cement." For the caulk used on the canoe, the cement, boédj ali va, "cement for the boat," is prepared from burnt clay, which is mixed

with a great deal of coconut wood coal and is mixed with the liquid gained from young coconut husks. This caulk is pressed into the holes and cracks and any residue is removed by means of calophyllum leaves. Caulking may not begin until it is certain that the boat will not be a subject to future strong movement and the "beautification" must have been finished. [97] In this connection ray or shark's skin may be used, or corals. "Scraping" is called feîr; see faiür.

After the caulking, the painting is done. But before this step may be taken, the outrigger must be provided with the float, tam; this action is known as the fai eám (connected with the taboo val e vêi, the "bush magic")....And the stanchions ám must be fastened to the outrigger boom kio. At this time the men fast, for anganga sórosol, "work in the early morning," is necessary.

Painting of the Canoe

Now the painting may begin, but usually is postponed for some time. After cement has been applied, bedjë vā, on both sides of the hole, the boat is lowered into the water after at least four days have gone by. At this time the ceremony, gafeîfei, is held; the canoe is decorated with young coconut pinnae, úbudj...all the fishing canoes that happen to pass throw fish over so that after a little while there are quantities of it large enough to provide for a banquet. And indeed a great banquet is given by the owner of the new canoe to the sellap and his assistants, and gifts to the gods are not forgotten on this occasion.

4: Krämer--92-97 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-9
116, 396, 784 Lamotrek

At that time, the rigging and sails are still lacking, but their names will soon be given.

Then follows the tárabos song...as a dedication ceremony and the last step before the canoe starts sailing. At this time all the taboos are ended.

4: Krämer--267 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 837, 784 Woleai

Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise. . . Vol. III, page 135: "The men live with their wives when they are pregnant, but not when they are nursing the infant." "When a friend asks the hospitality of his friend, the latter offers him his wife for the time of his stay."

4: Krämer--284 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 264, 784 Woleai

Kotzebue, Vol, III, page 132: "Several people may not eat fruit from the same cluster of bananas. Only the person who has eaten one of the bananas should eat the others."

5: Kittlitz--163 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 175, 609, 784 Aurupik

We now looked for the Eurupyk Island group, which lies south; the Uleai inhabitants had given directions to the Captain, and we found it easily on the 12th of April. It consists of just two little islands, whose inhabitants did not make the slightest effort to associate with us. We saw several canoes through our telescope, but they remained quiet on the beach, and we did not see a single boat on the water. At the time we thought this was very strange, but later W. Floyd's explanations shed some light on the matter. Probably the natives on those islands were celebrating the great yearly festival, and during the first few days they are not permitted to use their boats at all; later this tabu just applies to the use of sails.

8: Senfft--284 (1905) 1906 Woleaians
161, 784, 828 Gaferut

This island [MR: Grimes] is known to the natives by the name of "Gaferut," but they have never visited it. They call it the "devil's island" and are afraid to come near it. Yet they were unable to explain their fear for not even any member of the crew of the ship had seen it.

24: Christian--239
116, 226, 784

(No date) 1899

Woleaians
Lamotrek

"'For four days before a fishing expedition the Lamotrek natives sleep apart from their wives. They go out fasting in order to ensure success. When they make their first haul they drink one green coco-nut apiece, and put in shore for the ceremony of Yaf-ilok--The Coming in of the Fire. A fire is made, each takes a fish, broils it, and eats it. Each fisherman then goes down to the sea, washes mouth and hands in the salt water, and invokes the blessing of Aliu-set and Sau-lal, gods of the sea. This ceremony over, the distribution of the heap of fish commences. If any women or children come near and break the taboo by helping themselves, the same will receive swelled ankles or elephantiasis as a punishment and visible token of the anger of the spirits.'"

28: Spiro--36
116, 358, 784

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-12
Ifalik

"When doing major construction work, there are a number of taboos and rites which are practiced. Food is taboo until the completion of the job, so that the meal is very welcome when it comes. If the job requires more than a day for its completion food may be eaten only at the end of the day's work, and then the men must resume their fast until the completion of the next day's work. (2) Women and children are not permitted near the canoe-house during these major operations, and those living adjacent to it must

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"2. This fasting illustrates, I believe the psychology of all sacrifice--fasting of course being a sacrifice, the sacrifice of food. You sacrifice a lesser good in order to obtain a greater good. Conversely, you accept a lesser evil in order to avoid a greater evil. In this case you sacrifice food in order to retain life and/or limb, and there is little question but that abstinence from food is a great sacrifice in this culture. Lest the reader ask how the native might lose life or limb, I should point out that the beams and pillars of the canoe-houses are huge, and if a person were to be struck by one he might very well be injured or killed."

remain in their houses. This is sharply contrasted with the other repair jobs in which children are very much in evidence, shouting, playing, laughing, and getting in the way. Furthermore, on these major jobs, the men wear young, white coconut branch strips about their arms and their ankles, which serves as talismen, and protect them from falling beams and other forms of potential injury."

(1947-48) 1949

"If a man is engaged in constructing something new, he may not participate in the repair of an old object. For example, since Tom was building a new canoe he could not participate in the repair of his own canoe house when it needed rethatching. Should a person violate the taboo, he becomes ill. (3)

The day after the job is completed, the chiefs may tell the men to go fishing, while the women prepare food, and then a feast is held, each household bringing his own food and fish, but all eating together. A characteristic of these feasts, and of other feasts following a religious rite is the complete absence of conversation during the meal. The people eat uninterruptedly, no one speaking to any one, let alone holding a conversation."

"3. This taboo on the mixing of opposites is a symptom found quite widely in obsessive compulsive neurotics."

28: Spiro--38 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 784, 396, 501 Ifalik

"Except for the taboo on the owner of the newly-constructed canoe to participate in repair jobs, I discovered only one other taboo in canoe-construction. When working on the keel, the men must fast until the afternoon."

28: Spiro--64 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 613, 784 Ifalik

"Aside from these important curing ceremonies, there are medicine ceremonies for the ill, in which only the lineage participates. They are held in the house of the sick person, and the house is taboo to any one but the participants.

There are other taboos associated with the making or consumption of medicine. After making medicine from herbs, there are periods of isolation, ranging from a day to a month--depending upon the nature of the medicine--during which time the person neither sleeps in his house, nor eats of its food.

The consumption of a certain medicine creates the taboo on eating food cooked on a fire of breadfruit wood, or taking a light from a breadfruit-punk fire."

28: Spiro--70 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 784, 462, 778 Ifalik

"The people returned to their homes, work and sexual relations being taboo. The next day there was to be a feast, and that night the men went fishing after the appearance of the moon. The next morning the men resumed their fishing, while the women prepared taro and breadfruit. (Dr. Burrows and I contributed two tines of beef). It was not until late afternoon that we started for Falalap. As we approached we saw the women sitting around the shrine singing, while making garlands. The possessed man was still semi-delirious and would break into song at unpredicable intervals.

The shrine was then completely encircled by garlands, after which others were distributed among all the people assembled. Arogeligar announced that the alus had informed him that the American visitors were very fine men, and that they should receive garlands.

The chiefs then gave their permission to begin eating. This time, the sexes were not spearated, because the people sat in family groups, except for the chiefs who ate together with the ethnographers. At the conclusion of the meal, the people disbanded and returned to their homes."

28: Spiro--76 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-
116, 784 Ifalik

"Part of any people's Belief System is a number of taboos, the violation of which results in some undesirable consequence. As far as I was able to determine, the consequences of taboo violation are automatic. The alus do not punish the people for taboo violation though it was they who instituted the taboos, Aluelap ordaining all taboos except the incest taboos, which were ordained by Autran. It seems rather that some inherent causal relationship inheres between the taboo and its consequences, so that none of the natives I spoke with attempted more than a feeble attempt at a rational explanation.

The native term is etap. I have already referred to a number of taboos in the course of the text, and will have occasion to refer to others. But at this point I should like

here to underscore the observation made above, that ritual multiplies in those areas of culture that are relatively uncontrolled or are held in great value. (32)"

"32. It is obvious, of course, that the listing of these taboos in catalogue fashion does not imply that they were obtained that way. It is of methodological interest that if a native is asked to name as many taboos as he can, he will name two or three at the most, and no probing will aid him in recalling any others. For example, in discussing food habits I asked the four men with whom I was speaking, whether Ifaluk observes fasts, and I received a negative reply. But that very afternoon, I observed that the men were working on the hull of a canoe, and could not eat, as food was taboo. Almost all the taboos recorded in this manuscript were obtained by actually observing them in the course of my stay on the island."

28: Spiro--77 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 784 Ifalik

"In our entire stay I discovered only one taboo that involved the idea of holiness or sanctity per se, rather than being connected with a very pragmatic activity. That is, the plot of ground, known as Atelu, which belongs to the chiefs, and on which the fanap is located, is considered sacred ground, and one portion of it, directly behind our tent, is so sacred that no one is supposed to tread on it. The violation of this taboo results in rain and even typhoons. We discovered this purely accidentally. The trade winds had set in, and still the rains, which usually cease with the onset of the Trades continued, and both the natives and the anthropologists were very surprised. One afternoon, I observed the natives moving an old over-water-head to the beach directly in front of our tent. When they had finished their work, Tom came to us and said that this little hut was to be for our use, that we had been using part of Atelu as our private lavatory, and that perhaps that is why the rain continued, since it is taboo to walk on that ground, and the penalty for the violation of the taboo is rain. (33)

"33. That afternoon, I walked into our new lavatory, the rain stopped, and the sun appeared. The native view emerged triumphant! It is this kind of vindication, of course, if only once in a thousand times, that confrims the validity of the taboo for the natives."

All the other taboos are concerned either with illness, or with construction work; or the food quest, particularly fishing; or with dangerous physiological processes, such as birth and menstruation."

28: Spiro--82 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 843, 784 Ifalik

"The parents observe few taboos during pregnancy. They may not cut their hair, nor can they eat any food cooked over a fire made of driftwood. The husband may not begin a canoe during his wife's pregnancy. If these taboos are violated the parents would become ill.

Sexual intercourse is taboo for the first three months of pregnancy, after which it is desirable. The reason for this differentiation is that for the first three months the baby is but blood and water, and should the parents have intercourse they would kill the infant. After the third month, the baby begins to be formed, and intercourse can no longer harm the baby, but it can expand the walls of the vagina, and thus expedite the delivery.

The same logic applies to the relative amount of work performed by a pregnant woman. For the first seven months she performs only light labor, because the baby is weak. But in the last two months, she works hard, working even in the taro patches, as it is believed that manual activity will facilitate a rapid delivery."

"Though the father sleeps in the house with his wife, after the second day of her return [WPM: from the birth-hut], parental intercourse is strictly taboo for two rag (approximately one atronomical year). Violation of the taboo will result in the baby's death. Though it is difficult to check on the observance of this taboo directly, there is indirect reason to believe that it is observed. In the first place there are no children whose closest siblings are within an age period that would indicate a conception within the tabooed period. Secondly, at least two fathers left the island after the birth of a child, may well have been motivated by the desire to avoid temptation. And finally, infant mortality is sufficiently high that few would wish to risk the imputation by themselves, as well as by others, of having killed their child by lack of sexual restraint.

The mother and her attendant are confined to their home for three months. They are in constant attendance upon the infant, and may leave the house only for bathing and the performance of their ablutions. But one of them must remain in the house, when the other leaves. The mother is not permitted to do any work that may distract her attention from her baby, so that the only activity permitted her is the making of lavalavas.

Except for this constant attention to the child, which monopolizes her time, there seems to be no indication of differential status or role on the part of the new mother. The only avoidance pattern is the sexual one just described. I discovered only one indication of a slight change of status. While talking with a group of people one evening, I had passed

cigarettes around the group, lit the cigarette of one of the women, and having no more matches, used her cigarette to light the others. Tom refused to take a light, explaining that the woman had just had a baby, and that if he, a captain, should make use of her fire (of any kind), he would drift off his course while on an ocean voyage."

28: Spiro--120-121 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 881, 841, 343, 784 Ifalik

"At the end of this festivity [WPM: see p. 119], the girl retires to the menstrual hut, always the one of her father's homestead. She is accompanied by the entire group of women, who parade down the village path in great merriment, singing as they walk. The girl remains in the seclusion of the menstrual hut for four days, food being brought to her by members of her family. She is allowed to leave the hut in the morning in order to perform her morning ablutions in the lagoon. When she returns to the hut, she is re-painted with the red paint. No male, of course, is permitted to enter the hut. Her father goes fishing every day, and presents her with his catch. At the end of the four days, she returned to her normal routine. The skirt she has worn is removed, and she again wears the sivsiv, the grass and branch skirt.

It is to be noted that this entire ceremony is completely public. Every person in the village knows the onset of a girl's menstruation. There is neither fear nor [121] stigma attached to it, no attempt made to hide it. At the same time the public nature of the ceremony announces to all that the girl has become sexually mature and is now almost ready for marriage.

This public nature of menstruation obtains in adult life, as well. At the onset of her menstrual period the woman retires to the menstrual hut, and remains in it till its end (usually four days). She may sit outside the hut, but may not enter her own house or the house of any other person, nor may she even leave the confines of her own courtyard,

except for bathing and excretory purposes. Except for her husband and sons, no male is allowed in the menstrual hut.

However, should they or a woman, have eaten fish, they are not permitted to enter for that day. This taboo applies even to babies. Talimera and I were talking to Nautrimar, who was menstruating, and her 18 month old daughter was playing near by. The baby wanted to enter the menstrual hut, and Nautrimar interrupted our conversation at least every two minutes, to admonish the daughter with a loud, 'etap,' taboo. The daughter had eaten some fish that day.

The menstrual woman, herself, may not eat fresh fish, and she remains subject to the taboo until she has gone to the taro patch on four separate occasions.

The menstrual woman may engage only in that work which may be performed in the hut. She may not eat from the food prepared for the household, but must prepare her own food, in separate utensils, and over a separate fire, the house-fire being taboo. Her hasband and children, however, may eat the food that she prepares. Sexual intercourse is completely taboo during this period. Should the taboo be violated the woman would fall ill and perhaps die.

Unlike other aspects of sexual or bodily functioning, menstruation is not a tabooed subject for conversation, so that it is spoken of freely and openly. There is no sense of

shame or secrecy of any kind attached to it. Every one knows, of course, when a woman is menstruating because she is in the menstrual hut. When I would ask to see a woman, for example, her husband or children would state matter-of-factly that she was menstruating, and I could find her in the menstrual hut.

At the end of her period, the woman must bathe thoroughly, after which she resumes her normal routine."

28: Spiro--141 [4]
116, 765, 784, 551

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A general taboo, which lasts not only for the four days of mourning, is the mentioning of the name of the dead. The immediate family may not ever mention it, nor may a stranger mention it in their presence. I saw a little child receive a beating from its mother for repeatedly using the name of its dead father, after she had warned him not to."

28: Spiro--141 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 765, 784 Ifalik

"Finally, I accidentally discovered a taboo which applies to certain specific people, and which lasts during the four day mourning period. Lautrilus, a girl in her early teens, was eating some coconut meat, and I asked her for a piece. She extended her hand, but Tom, who was with us, would not permit her to give it to me. It seems that should any living person have had the same illness from which the deceased dies, he may not share his food, for the four days of mourning, with others."

28: Spiro--141-142 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 765, 784 Ifalik

"Taboos on working and cooking are much more stringent should the death occur in [142] a chiefly lineage. The immediate family may not work for one month, the clan may not work for ten days, and the entire village must refrain from working for four days. However, the men may fish, which is what they did after the death of Navor, who was a member of a lineage of chiefs. The canoes houses, however, are empty and the women merely sit idly. The men may climb the coconut trees, though they may not climb trees along the beach where they can be seen, but must go into the bush."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

spaced canoes with a line. A large V-shaped seine was set in the middle of the semicircle, its bottom and sides over one of the ravines. When all was ready, groups of men on the reef at each end of the semicircle started hauling in on the rope, bringing the two ends continually closer together, so that eventually a big circle was formed with the off-shore edge just in back of the apex of the seine.

Everyone was in the water except the men hauling on the ends of the rope, the canoes being pulled along as the circle contracted. Everyone who owned them wore goggles, and with goggles the whole theory of the operation was clear. The frightening line of weaving fronds moved slowly along the bottom, driving hordes of fish of all colors, shapes and sizes before it. The swimmers followed along with the rope, and as the circle got smaller and smaller and the water more and more shallow, the circle of swimming men formed an additional barrier above the palm fronds. The fish, milling frantically inside the barrier, were finally driven into the seine, which was then closed, pulled up between two canoes, and the contents ladled into another canoe with a dip net. When the seine was up, many of the men went in with spears and dug out the fish hiding among the coral boulders.

This process was repeated three times during the day, the canoes and seine being moved each time to a new position along the reef. The total catch for the day was one of the middle-sized canoes about half full of fish. This was not regarded as a really good catch, but everyone seemed reasonably happy, and the fishing expedition, accompanied by a great deal of laughter and horseplay, was a fine combination of business and pleasure.

The BWUP with its passengers was sent in over the reef ahead of the rest, since it was so slow. The whole flotilla had moved around the reef toward the north end of Falarik during the course of the day, and the BWUP, on the way home, pulled in to this part of the island, where Yani and Bakal scouted for drinking coconuts. We all sat, relaxed, on the trunk of a fallen coconut for our drinks, and for the first cigarettes of the day. Because smoking before or during a fishing expedition is taboo.

The canoes came dashing home across the lagoon in fine style and by the time we got to the Fan Nap the canoe-load of fish had been

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
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Polynesian cultures, had almost endless ways of catching fish. Individuals or small groups fished with spears or with hook and line. A method that appealed to me particularly was to attach the hook and line to a kite, which was sailed from a canoe in the lagoon: thus combining the pleasures of fishing with those of kite-flying (one of the numerous instances where I couldn't decide whether a particular operation should be called "work" or "play"). There were also a variety of ways of trapping fish, with traps ranging from the large, permanent stone weirs built along the lagoon shore, down through various types of wattle traps, to improvised affairs of plaited coconut leaf sometimes set by the women in the shallows—the only fishing operation of the women, aside from collecting crabs, shellfish and the like. Women, in fact, were subject to various sorts of taboos in relation to fishing, and sex was strictly suppressed during a prolonged fishing operation.

There were various ways of catching special fish, like tuna, bonito and flying fish, when these appeared, but I didn't get to see any of these operations. Later in the summer, however, Don and I did spend a very active day trying to get a complete photographic record of a lagoon seining operation—the kind of fishing called yating.

The Ifalukians had an immense supply of seines—great piles stored in each of the canoe houses. The accumulation of seines and of rope seemed a direct consequence of the almost compulsive male habit of making sennit twine. Whenever a group of men were sitting around gossiping, or helping us gather information, or quietly watching the horizon, some of them would pull handfuls of fluffy leached and pounded coconut fibers out of their purses, and start twisting them into twine. This process, like knitting with the women of the West, did not interfere with either conversation or thought; and since it went on constantly, the twine output was considerable. The sennit twine had a great many different uses, but much of it ended woven into seines.

In the case of the particular yating operation that we photographed, the morning started with groups of men shouldering lengths of seine and carrying them down from the canoe houses to load them into canoes beached on the lagoon shore. The canoes took off in orderly procession, each dumping its seine in turn and connecting with the next until there must have been nearly a mile of seine forming a great